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Vol. XVIII, (pp. 394+24).

ARTICLES

MISCELLANY

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

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interesting. The commentary runs °माणवायस्स (very probably क्षीयमाणवयास्स as suggested by the editors) साहसिकस्तपस्विने वामदेवनाम्ने निजराजलक्ष्मीं गुरुदक्षिणार्थं दत्वा सर्वां भूमिं जेतुं प्रस्थितवान् ॥ Thus the Kalacuri king Sāhasika of Tripurī offered his kingdom as *gurudakṣiṇā* to his *guru*, the ascetic Vāmadeva, and went out on a *digvijaya*. A few years back, on quite different grounds, I suggested (*I.H.Q.*, XIV, p. 97) that the Śaiva ascetic Vāmaśambhu was the spiritual guide of Kalacuri Karṇa (*c.* 1041-71 A.D.) and that, that is why he is the first king to have been called वामदेवपादानुध्यात in the Kalacuri records. [As regards the secular titles of Vāmadeva in inscriptions, I may now add that a Śaiva priest is called *Paramabhattāraka* Vimalaśambhu or Śiva in the Mamdāpur inscription of Śaka 1172, see Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 17, n. 3.] It is therefore very probable that the Kalacuri king Sāhasika of Tripurī mentioned in the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya* is no other than Karṇa, one of the greatest amongst ancient Indian conquerors. This reference to an ascetic Vāmadeva as the *guru* of a Kalacuri king supported by the evidence of the Malkāpur inscription suggesting that the Kalacuri kings worshipped the Śaiva saint Vāmaśambhu for over 200 years apparently goes against the suggestion of Prof. V. V. Mirashi that Vāmadeva of the passage वामदेवपादानुध्यात in Kalacuri records refers to an eighth century Kalacuri king called Vāmarāja. As Someśvara's marriage took place when he was at the court of Kumārapāla (*c.* 1141-73 A.D.) and as Pṛthvīrāja III was born some time before the death of Vigraharāja IV (*c.* 1153-64 A.D.), it is possible that by *Tripurī-purandara* = Tejala or Acalarāja, the poem refers to Gayā Karṇa (*c.* 1125-55 A.D.), grandson of Karṇa.

The early Cāhamanas were apparently feudatories of the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Durlabharāja I (about the first half of the ninth century A.D.) who claims to have conquered Gauḍa (Canto V, v. 20) thus seems to have fought for the Pratihāras against the Pāla king, possibly Devapāla (*c.* 815-54 A.D.). Guvāka II (about the end of the ninth century A.D.) gave his sister Kalāvatī in marriage to a Kanauj king who was apparently a Pratīhāra, possibly Mahendrapāla I (*c.* 890-910 A.D.).

The volume under review will no doubt be received favourably by all students of Rājput history.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

ŚRĪMADBHAGAVADGĪTĀ with Sarvatobhadra of Rājānaka Rāmakaṇṭha. Edited by T. R. Chintamani M.A., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras, 1941.

BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀRTHAPRAKĀŚIKĀ of Śrī Upaniṣad-Brahma with text. Edited by the Paṇḍits of the Adyar Library. The Adyar Library, Adyar, 1941.

These two volumes constitute a welcome addition to the exegetical literature on the Bhagavadgītā in spite of the fact that even the published portion of the existing literature is already extensive. The first of these contains a critical edition of Rāmakantha's commentary based on five manuscripts, four of which belong to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona and one to the India Office Library of London. Three of the manuscripts are written in Nagari and two in Sarada indicating that the latter were copied in Kashmir where the author of the commentary lived and wrote. A long and learned introduction draws attention to the characteristic features of the philosophical views of the commentator as revealed in the commentary. It also points out the textual differences from the Vulgate noticed in the so-called Kashmirian recension of the *Gītā* after comparing the texts adopted by different commentators like Rāmakaṇṭha, Abhinavagupta and Bhāskara, the work of the last of whom still exists in the form of a manuscript in the possession of the learned editor. The views of Dr. Schrader that the *Gītābhāṣya* of Śaṅkara was unknown in Kashmir up to the end of the 10th century and that Rāmakantha and Abhinavagupta were completely ignorant of the vulgate text of the *Gītā* have been successfully refuted by the learned editor with the help of appropriate extracts quoted from the commentaries of Rāmakantha and Bhāskara.

Chronologically this appears to be the third of the hitherto-known commentaries on the *Gītā* written by a Kashmirian. It is, however, the earliest published commentary of Kashmir, though the credit of first publication of the work accidentally goes to the Anandasrama of Poona, which published an edition when the present edition was, it is stated, 'half through the press.' Fortunately the latter containing as it does the results of the collation of five manuscripts and enough accessory matter in the form of a scholarly introduction and two indices, one, of the *ardhas* of the text and the other, of the citations in the commentary, is not a mere 'duplication of the former.' But it must have to be confessed that more often than not, it is the dilatoriness of scholarly institutions that encourages other publish-

ing concerns to steal a march over them. And in the present case the University edition is claimed to have been ready for the press as early as 1935, but due to various circumstances the actual printing could not be taken up till 1939,' and presumably finished before the middle of 1941.

The second volume under review is the concluding volume of the attractive series of Upaniṣads published by the Adyar Library with the commentary of Upaniṣad-Brahma-Yogin. The reason for including the *Bhagavadgītā* in the series is that it is also regarded as an Upaniṣad. The present volume unlike its predecessors in the series has no indices and no variants are recorded. In fact no reference is made to the manuscript material utilised for the edition. No attempt is made to bring out the special features of the commentary, if any. Instead, we have a long introduction by Prof C Cunhan Raja, which principally discusses the problem of the extent and nature of text of the *Gītā*

"*The Gītā*", according to the Professor, "is a unit and serves the varying needs of a suffering humanity. It is an indivisible whole, a unit"

CINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SELECT ASOKAN EPIGRAPHS (with annotations) by Prof. Sachchidananda Bhattacharya Chuckervertty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd, Calcutta, 1941 pp. xiv + 82

The royal edicts of Aśoka (*dhamma-lipis*, as Aśoka himself calls them) form a distinctly valuable set in the whole range of Indian epigraphs, not only because of their being the earliest among those that we have been able to decipher so far but also for the fact that they present before us the image of an emperor with an earnest solicitude for the well-being (*kayana*) of his own subjects and of the whole mankind. Whether engraved on living rocks or on stone pillars set up for the purpose, these edicts are the words of the emperor himself, spoken with a sincerity and emotion that betray the ring of a genuine feeling and here in these epigraphs we have an indelible picture of the emperor's mind and personality, almost in the sense of a modern biography. The lofty ideal of *Dhamma-vijaya*, as inculcated in these edicts may be an aspiration for the visionary, impossible from the standpoint of practical politics. Yet, it should be remembered in these days of strife and conflict that it was this great emperor, who, for the first

time in world's history, realised the horrors of war and, to strike the evil at the root, dreamt of a universal order based on *dhamma* and *kayāna*—an order embracing mankind James Prinsep, by deciphering the script in which the edicts had been written, made it possible for us to know him through his own words. Since then there have been various studies on the epigraphs and their author and there is quite a fair amount of literature on Aśoka.

In this short and handy volume Prof Bhattacharya has given us several selected epigraphs of Aśoka in translation along with notes For this study he has selected only those that speak of definite events in the career of the emperor and has arranged them in the order in which the events took place. In his translation he follows the text of Hultzsch as presented in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, which is no doubt a standard work The present book is very largely in the nature of a compilation, but the author has shown his power of judgment and has not hesitated to reject the interpretation of Hultzsch where it has been found obviously unsatisfactory, in favour of more plausible ones, put forward by other authorities The author is frank to confess that he cannot claim any originality for his work But it must be said to his credit that his critical acumen is evident in his notes and in his analysis of the various theories and interpretations of the different scholars

The work under notice does not aspire to be a new or scholarly presentation of Aśoka or of his edicts and a critical review in the usual sense is not possible in this case. The book, as the author professes, is meant for undergraduate students, *vis-à-vis* the lay public There is need for such popular studies on Aśoka and on his edicts, as it is proper and appropriate that the emperor's own words should reach the public as well as the common student Only those epigraphs, that speak of the events in the life of the emperor have been selected for this compilation We should remember, however, that Aśoka was a unique personality in the history of the world and a complete picture of his mind and individuality is not possible unless we have an acquaintance with all the epigraphs where materials of such a nature are available. As for example, without a knowledge of the two separate Kalinga edicts the emperor's solicitude for the good of the people loses its sincere and fervent tone In our opinion hence, every epigraph bringing out one or other aspect of the special traits of his character should have been included in this compilation. The notes are

helpful no doubt, but in a work, avowedly meant for the beginners the long discussions are sure to prove tiresome and superfluous and the space should have been better utilised if a gist of all the edicts had been appended to the volume for a better understanding of the man and his mission.

S. K. SARASWATI

THE GREAT BAHAMANI WAZIR MAHMUD GAWAN, by H. K Sherwani, M A (Oxon.), Osmania University, Haidarabad. Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942.

Professor H. K. Sherwani has written many learned papers on the Bahamani kings, and earned a well deserved reputation as a historian. Now he has presented to us his book entitled, "The Great Bahamani Wazir Mahmud Gawan'.

This great personality has so far remained obscure because the historical material regarding him is scanty and scattered To thread together the disjointed fragments of information into a continuous sketch on scientific lines is no easy task The author deserves praise not only for making use of the valuable contemporary sources (Appendix A) but for handling the material with sound judgment and scholarship He steers clearly and never gets lost in the mazes of controversy, yet he marshalls in full the evidence for both sides on the disputed points.

The book under review starts with an introduction covering 20 pages, giving us a picture of India about the middle of the 15th century, touching the kingdoms of Delhi, Gujrat, Malwa and some other states. It has 8 chapters with ample footnotes, and even the location of towns and villages is punctiliously given. Needless to say, the book displays on every page the author's thorough grasp of the subject of which he has an unrivalled knowledge

Our only regret is that the author has not given a detailed account of the famous Madrassa of Mahmud Gawan and its working, not more than a page is devoted to it A map illustrating the extent of the empire or explaining the campaigns would have enhanced the value of the book However, the book is well got up and provided with a useful index. It is a real pleasure to handle and read it.

K. SAJUN LAL

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. V, pt. 4

P. K. GODE.—*A Rare Manuscript of the Vedabhāṣyasara of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita*. The ms. described in the note is a commentary on the *Ṛgveda* by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the well-known author of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* The commentator professes to have based his work on the *Vedabhāṣya* of Sāyaṇācārya, but his discussions are found to be essentially grammatical. It is not known whether this ms in 9 folios is a complete work by itself or is a fragment of a larger commentary.

MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA —*Date of Mādhavasarasvatī Its bearing on the dates of Rāmacandra and Viṭṭhala—New light on the much debated date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* The ms of a work by Mādhavasarasvatī, entitled *Prakriyāsudhā*, a commentary on the Sanskrit grammar *Prakriyakaumudī* of Rāmacandra is found deposited in the Adyar Library Rāmacandra is known to have flourished in the latter half of the 14th century and his grammar had been commented upon by his grandson Viṭṭhala in the first half of the 15th century. From the fact that this commentary of Viṭṭhala, called *Prasāda* has been drawn upon in the *Prakriyāsudhā*, as pointed out here, and also from the details given in other works of Madhavasarasvatī, he is assigned to the latter half of the 15th century Rūpa Gasvāmin, "the flourishing period" of whose literary activity falls between 1533 and 1550 A.C ascribes in his *Padyāvalī* a verse to Mādhava. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also mentions his guru as bearing the name of Mādhava The writer of the note is inclined to identify these Mādhavas.

SERIAL PUBLICATIONS —The following pieces continue in this issue.

Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra with Devasvāmibhāṣya

Jīvānandanam of Ānandarāya Makhin.

Saṃgītaratnākara with the commentaries of Caturakallināthа and Siṃhabhūpāla.

Śrī Pāñcarātrarakṣā of Vedānta Deśika

Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayanācārya

Āpastambasmṛti.

Vaiṣṇavopaniṣads—(*Garuḍa Up* and *Gopālatāpanī Up* translated into English).

Acyutarāyābhyudaya of Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima
Ālambanaparīkṣā and Vṛtti of Dinnāga with the Commentary of Dharmapāla (translated into English).

Annals of Oriental Research, vol VI (1941-42), part 1

K RAMAKRISHNAYYA — *Dravidian Phonetics.*

P. KRISHNAN NAIR —*Dhvanyāloka—Identity of Authorship* In this article in Malayalam evidence has been adduced from works like the *Locana, Vyaktiviveka, Kāvyamīmāṃsā* and *Abhinavabhāratī* to show that both the *Kārikā* and the *Vṛtti* of the *Dhvanyaloka* are by Ānandavardhanācārya.

C KUNHAN RAJA —*Notes on Kālidāsa.* (1) The Bharatavākya in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (2) Allusions to Agnimitra in the Works of Kālidāsa (3) Titles of the Works of Kālidāsa.

V RAGHAVAN.- *Minor Works wrongly ascribed to Ādi Śaṅkara.* The *Sarvavedāntasiddhāntasārasaṃgraha* is not a composition of the great Śaṅkarācārya Its author is Sadānanda, who lived in the latter half of the 15th century. The *Prabodhasudhākara* also is not a work of Śankara, its author being one Daivajña Sūryapaṇḍita of the 16th century.

Journal of the American Oriental Society vol. 61, no 3 (September 1941)

W RUBEN —*The Kṛṣnacarita in the Harivaṃśa and certain Purānas.* The purpose of the paper is to show that the original supplement (*khila*) to the *Mahābhārata* was much shorter than the *Khila Harivaṃśa* now current

H M. JOHNSON —*Grains of Medieval India* The different kinds of grains described here are found mentioned in the works of the Jain authors Nemicandra and Hemacandra.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. VI, nos. 2-3

BRAJENDUSUNDAR BANERJEE.—*The Daughter's Son in the Bengal School of Hindu Law* The position of the daughter's son in respect of his right of succession as recognised in treatises of the Bengal School of Smṛti has been discussed in the paper.

RAMA DHARI SINGH.—*Social, Economic and Cultural Life in the Republics of Ancient India.*

U. N. Day.—*The Provinces of the Delhi Sultanate.* It deals with the types of provinces grown under the Sultans of Delhi and the system of administration prevalent there.

A. S. Altekar —*The Conception and Ideals of Education in Ancient India.* Discussions have been introduced and Sanskrit texts quoted to show that "infusion of a spirit of piety and religiousness, formation of character, development of personality, inculcation of civic and social duties, promotion of social efficiency by the proper training of the rising generation in different branches of knowledge and the preservation and spread of national culture may be described as the chief aims and ideals of ancient Indian education."

R. B Pandey — *Atharvavedic Conception of the Motherland* The wide earth in the hymns of the *Atharvaveda*, with people and organisations, and flora and fauna, producing the necessities of life, possessed of rivers and mountains is conceived as mother (माता भूमिः).

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXVII, part. IV (December, 1941)

A. Banerji-Sastri.—*A Bronze Buddha from Mandalay in Patna Museum*
Walter Ruben.—*On Garuda*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XVII, 1941

P K Gode - *Viśvanātha Mahādeva Rānade a Cittapavan Court-poet of Raja Ramsing I of Jaipur and his Works between A D 1650 and 1700.*

Jounal of the Bombay Historical Society, vol VI, nos. 1 & 2 (1941)

B A. Salatore.—*The Age of Guru Akalanka* The celebrated Jain savant Akalaṅka has been assigned to the 8th century A C.

Journal of the Music Academy, Madras, vol. XI, pts I-IV

T V. Subba Rao - *Karṇātaka Composers* The Dāsakūṭa singers of Karnāṭaka are said to have contributed much to the development of the Kīrtana variety of emotional songs. Of the many important Dāsakūṭa composers, some of whom became also teachers of Vedānta and Bhaktimārga, Acalānandadāsa, Narahari Tīrtha, Śrīpādarāja, and Vyāsarāya have been dealt with in this paper.

B. SITARAMA RAO.—*Śrī Purandara Dāsa*. This discourse given on the day celebrated in honour of Purandara Dāsa, the greatest of the Dāsakūtas of Karṇātaka stresses the importance of the religious movement of the Dāsas as preaching the Bhakti cult in the country

T. L. VENKATARAMA IYER.—*The Scheme of 72 Melas in Carnatic Music*

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*Caturdaṇḍī in Karnāta Music.*

G. H. RANADE.—*The Naṭī's Song in the Prelude to the Abhijñānaśakuntala of Kālidāsa*. The writer thinks that the Rāga concept was in vogue in the days of Kālidāsa and that the Naṭī's song in the drama *Abhijñāna-śakuntala* had been cast in the 'Sarang' Rāga.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VII, No. 2 (1941)

M. L. AND D. H. GORDON.—*The Rock Engravings of the Middle Indus*. A number of rocks situated in an area surrounding a stretch of the Middle Indus near the Attock Bridge shows a mass of miscellaneous engravings—human and animal figures, bullock carts, various symbols and inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī. The engravings which are very crude in workmanship and the two inscriptions which read respectively a-so-ta-ti-re-(te) and (ra)-ṣa-pa-la sa suggest their dates in the early Śaka period near about the beginning of the Christian era.

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.—*The Sohgaura Copper-plate Inscription*. The inscription containing four lines of writing in Brāhmī character has been edited with comments.

P. C. SENGUPTA.—*Time Indications in the Baudhayana Śrautasūtra*. Discussions in the paper lead to the conclusion that "the mean date for the Baudhāyana rules for sacrifices should be taken as the year 887-86 B.C."

R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*Some Dates in the Pāla and Sena Period*. Doubts have been expressed about the correctness of the dates of the following inscriptions as read by previous scholars:

(1) Nālandā C. P. of Devapāla, (2) Jayanagara Image Ins. of Madana-pāla, (3) Bajilpur Sadāśiva Image Ins. of Gopāla III, (4) Barrackpur C. P. of Vijayasena, (5) Two Imadpur Image Ins. of Mahīpāla.

The dates found in the first three inscriptions have been read afresh and corrected.

Journal of the Sind Historical Society, vol. V, No. 4 (February, 1942)

B. D. MIRCHANDANI.—*Some References to Sind in a Chinese Work of the 13th Century.*

N. N. BILLIMORIA—*Was Akbar Literate?* The paper concludes "Akbar not only knew Persian, but could also follow Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi."

Journal of the Thailand Research Society, vol. XXXIII, pt. II (November, 1941)

J. J. DE CAMPOS —*The Origin of the Tikal.* The term *tical* still in use in Thailand to designate the Thai unit of currency *baht* is connected with the Peguan *tical* which again is an adaptation of the Indian term *ṭanka* called *ṭākā* in Bengal.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, vol. XIV, part II (December, 1941)

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.—*Practical Aspects of Education in Ancient India.* Details of the working of the Indian educational system in the 7th century A.C. as can be gathered from the records left by Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing have been given in the paper. The points discussed include the curriculum of study followed in the University of Nālanda and the agricultural operations carried out for its maintenance.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Trade and Commerce from Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Terms used and practices referred to in Pāṇini's Sūtras show that he was acquainted with a wide sphere of trading and commercial activities of the people of his time.

B. S. UPADHYAYA —*The Date of Kālidāsa.* Kālidāsa is assigned to the Gupta period between A.C. 375 and 445.

P. K. ACHARYA.—*Maya Architecture of Central America* Maya is the master architect mentioned in Indian literature and several treatises on architecture are ascribed to him. The Mauryan buildings are supposed to have been constructed according to the principles laid down by the Maya school. Several structures discovered in Maya settlement of Central America also lead to the supposition that they were connected with the same Indian school of architecture.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. X, part 4 (January, 1942)

A. G. PAWAR.—*Nadir Shah.—From Some Original English Records.* The description of events in India, Persia and Afghanistan, as they occurred or as they were reported to the English, and put in record in letters and diaries throws much light on the life and history of Nadir Shah.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. IV, No. 12 (March, 1942)

SADASHIVA L. KATRE.—*Śāstratattvanirṇaya: The Works and its Author.* The *Śāstratattvanirṇaya* is a metrical work in Sanskrit by Nīlakaṇṭha Gore composed in Benares about a century ago for the refutation of the doctrines of Christianity and the defence of the tenets of Hinduism. Contents of the work have been described and an account of the author's conversion to Christianity afterwards has been given.

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A SHORT HISTORY

OF

THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF THE SIKHS

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

OF THE

HAKIKAT-I BINĀ WA 'URUJ-I FIRKAH-I SIKHĀN

BY

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE, M.A., PH.D.

CALCUTTA

1942

A Short History of the Origin and Rise of the Sikhs

Introductory

The *Hakikat-i Binā Wa 'Uruj-i Firkah-i Sikhān*, or a short history of the origin and rise of the Sikhs, is an R. A. S. manuscript (Morley Catalogue, No. 83) consisting of 19 folios, well-written in *Shikastah Āmiz*. It was written two years after the conquest of Multān by Timur Shāh Abdālī, or in other words, in 1783. The work has been ascribed to Timur Shāh himself, and, as such, must be regarded as one of considerable importance. Timur Shāh was the governor of the Panjāb for about one year, from May 1757 to April 1758 and must have had an intimate knowledge of all his father's adventures in Hindusthān. It will thus be seen that, so far as the history of the Sikh struggle for independence in its most intense phase, as well as the history of the Panjāb in general, from after the days of Nādir Shāh, is concerned, the *Hakikat* must be regarded as one of the most authoritative sources of information, particularly as it provides us with contemporary Afghān evidence. It is sketchy no doubt and sometimes skips over important details but, nevertheless, its corroborative value is great On the whole, it is a sober and accurate record and tallies in essentials with authorities like Mishkin. But it has one great defect. It does not give us a single date and the chronology of events narrated in the work has to be gathered from other sources.

Unfortunately, however, it appears that, so far as the earlier phases of Sikh history are concerned, the author had no reliable evidence to guide him, and his narrative is marred by obvious confusions and chronological absurdities. As will appear from the translation that follows, our author splits the career of Guru Tegh Bahādur into two parts—the first ending with his discomfiture at the hands of the Faujdārs of Aurangzib and his flight to the jungly tract between Shāhjahānābād and Lahore; and the second beginning with his journey to Shāhjahānābād after the accession of Bahādur Shāh to the throne of Delhi and ending with his death Guru Tegh Bahādur was executed in 1675, whereas Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne after Aurangzib's death in 1707, and thus it is clear that our author has made a confusion between Guru Tegh Bahādur and Guru Gobind Singh.

who, as we know from other sources, had actually accompanied Bahādur Shāh to Delhi after the battle of Jajau, in which also he had participated in the new Emperor's favour. Similarly, the reforms that Guru Gobind Singh introduced in 1699, bringing the Khālsā into existence, are brought down to the reign of Bahādur Shāh and are attributed to Guru Tegh Bahādur. No doubt, it sometimes does happen that a more distinguished successor appropriates so completely the work begun by a predecessor that, in course of time, no evidence regarding the contributions of the latter remains available, but, in this instance, the confusion of our author is so patent that no such explanation seems called for.

Again, it will be seen that the *Hakikat* places practically the whole of the active career of Guru Gobind Singh in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, whereas, in reality, the Guru lived only the last year of his life in that reign. Here again, it is clear that our author makes a confusion between the adventures of Guru Gobind Singh and those of Banda. The military exploits of Banda are marked by a gap and thus falls into two distinct periods—the earlier in the reign of Bahādur Shāh and the later in the reign of Farrukh-siyar Bahādur Shāh returned from his Rājputānā campaign to chastise Banda and not Guru Gobind Singh, who was then dead, and it is obvious that our author has foisted the earlier adventures of Banda on Guru Gobind Singh

But the curious thing is that if this is borne in mind and the necessary corrections effected, the account of the *Hakikat* agrees, on the whole, tolerably well with what we get from other sources. It is, no doubt, true that, in the matter of Guru Tegh Bahādur's differences with Aurangzib's Government, the *Hakikat* does not agree with the accepted Sikh tradition but it should be remembered that in doing so it does not stand alone That there was another tradition with regard to the matter, similar to that which our author narrates, is clearly proved by the remarks of Ghulam Husain in his *Siyar-ul-mutakhkharin*[1] as also by some of the Sikh *Sākhīs*[2] In short, considering the fact that with regard to the history of the earlier phases of Sikhism, we are constantly handicapped by the dearth of reliable records, we think that, inspite of its confusions and palpable errors, the *Hakikat*, if used with caution, might yet be of some value to us

1 English translation R Cambray & Co, vol I, p 85

2 Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p 593

Translation of the Hakikat

During the reign of His Majesty the world-conquering Zahir-ud-dīn Muhammad Bābur Pādshāh, a man, belonging to the Khatri clan, a well-known class among the Hindus, served as an accountant. God had given him the attributes of a saint. Giving up the ways of earning he chose the path of solitude and became famous in the name of Nānak Shāh. He introduced a system which was hitherto unknown among the Hindu nation and many men assembled around him and became believers in him. He also wrote a book on the unity of the Godhead and the book is known as the Granth. And always being absorbed in the remembrance of God and having in his mind joy and intoxication, he passed his days alone. A musician named Mardānā was always present before him. Whatever Nānak wrote in Panjābī in his state of ecstasy the musician gave tune to them and played them on the *Rabāb* and at this Nānak was pleased. Now, the *Nānakpanthīs*, who are a group among the followers of Nānak, lived in the garb of *faqirs* and they sang the exalting sayings of Nānak as a daily rite when four watches of the night still remained and played the *Rabāb*, and they called those sayings in their idiom as *Sabad* On the whole, Nānak passed his whole life like a devotee, in seclusion, in the worship of God. In his religion there is very little prejudice against the Mussalmāns, nay, they have practically no prejudice against any nation.

After the death of Nānak a *darwesh* named Angad was installed in his place and followed his path In Nānak's path, in all worship humility is given the first place They regarded as the basis of their lives' work the knowing of everything in this world as the vehicles of God's manifestation and not to reckon anything as different from God. After Angad Amar Dās, and after him Rām Dās, and after him Arjun, and after him Hargobind, and after him Har Rāy, and after him Har Kishan, and after him Guru Tegh Bahādur, who was the ninth successor from Nānak, sat on the *masnad* to direct (the followers). In the meantime believers and followers grew largely in number. In their idiom *Guru* is the equivalent of *murshid* (مرشد) and in the language of the Panjāb a *murid* (مرید) is called *Sikh*. In the time of Tegh Bahādur a vast crowd assembled around him.

It was the reign of His Majesty, whose place is in heaven.[3] Orders were issued to the Subahdārs and Faujdārs for applying themselves to the

3 Evidently Aurangzib is meant.

performance of the injunctions of the true religion and to destroy the temples and the idols of the opposed party and the rebellious (i.e., the unbelievers). If the officers did not follow the principles of the *Shariat* they were dismissed. And every year the Sadr-ul-Sadur, calling to his presence the ecclesiastical and civil officers, placed in their hands the authoritative books and asked the meaning of (passages from) them. If they could explain the thing properly according to its true essence it was all right, otherwise other persons were appointed in their places. When the news of many people assembling (around Tegh Bahādur), of the founding of a new religion, and of the faith of the Zamindars in Tegh Bahādur, reached the holy ears, orders were issued to the effect: "If, as previously, like the poor *Nānakpanthī faqirs*, you live peacefully in a corner, no harm will befall you. On the contrary, alms, suitable for your maintenance in the style of *faqirs*, would be given to you from the State treasury, just as in the case of other prayer-offering groups '*In this free dinner-table of mine friends and foes are all alike*' But the horses and arms, and the equipment of your retinue that you have gathered in your places of worship must be removed." Accordingly, the Faujdār of Sarhind intimated this order (to Tegh Bahādur). Before the proud and virile disciples who had assembled there, Tegh Bahādur said defiantly: "We are *faqirs*, what God has given us, why should we return? We are living in our own shelters, why should you harm us?" On this point arose a great contention, which ended in war and Tegh Bahādur was driven out of that place by force

Tegh Bahādur took up his residence in the jungly country between Shāhjahānābād and Lahore and passed his days in anxiety The horses, the attendants and the other things that he had brought with him were destroyed. The believers came to him stealthily and gave him whatever was possible He turned his own favourites into (so many) mad men, for example, sometimes a horse was put before him and shot at with his own hands. Sometimes some one among the companion Sikhs was called and told: "Who is there among you who wants to reach Guru Nānak?" The said man came, uttering *Wāh-guru*, and stood before him, and after filling his gun he (Tegh Bahādur) fired at him and killed him. His friends burnt him in fire. And whoever died in the hands of Guru Tegh Bahādur was called Shahidi Singh and their descendants also had the same title. The booty and the offerings that were given by the followers were divided into three shares—the first share was given to the descendants of Nānak who were called Sāhibzādah;

and the descendants of the successors of Nānak were known as the *Bhallah* and the second share was given to them, and the third share was fixed in the name of the Shahidi Singhs.

At that time Tegh Bahādur very often spoke in the words of a mad man and those words of his, which proved true to facts, became the cause of the increase in the belief of the illiterates. As for example, the Sikhs were told: "Now it seems, rather it is ordained, that the hawks must be hunted by the sparrows", that is, disgrace will reach the nobles from the lowly tribes and this the disciples regarded as a glad tidings for them. It was ordered: "You should now wear weapons, and worship iron and love it, because this iron will take you to a high position." For this reason, it became necessary for them to keep iron bangles or chains in their hands or their turbans (they were told.) "Whoever might join you from whichever tribe, don't have any prejudice against him and without any superstition eat together with him" Now this is their custom Calling his troops by the name of *dal* he called the whole nation by the name of the *Khālṣah*. The reason for this was that when the order of the Faujdār, "You leave the *Khalsah Sharifah*" came, they decided. "We are the *Khālṣah*, nay, we are the essence of the whole world" He told his own men "You should adopt some sign which will distinguish you and the other troops. Men cut their hairs, you don't cut yours, and don't lessen your beards and don't cut hairs of your armpit and other parts." This nation entertains a great hatred for the hubble-bubble, they call hubble-bubble by the name of *beṣerah* And they call *bhang* by the name of *sukhiā* and in the Hindi language *sukh* means *ārām* And they draw (smoked?) this with great eagerness. There are no women in their troops. From those who keep women a tax is taken but if they are kept at home then there is no harm Every one of them has many beautiful boys with him Every one of the boys is a horseman and a matchlockman and is well-dressed They serve their masters in daytime and at night they themselves are served by their masters. And after their death, they become their heirs, owners of their troops and attain to their position

In an ecstatic mood Tegh Bahādur wrote to Sultān Muazzim: "You will become Pādshāh." In the reign of His Majesty, whose place is in Heaven, that is, Bahādur Shah, who was called Sultān Muazzim as a Prince, Tegh Bahādur came to Shāhjahānābād, and the Emperor, according to his promise, gave him a grant of a few villages for his expenses. Again

he went to Lahore and men in large batches began to come to him and many Zamindārs and poor men and rogues of that district entered the ranks of his disciples. In a few days Tegh Bahādur attained a perfect position and and the manner of the foundation of a new religion was manifested. Every one among the Hindus, whether he was a Khatri, the principal among them (Sikhs), or a Jāt, who are numerous in that country, and carpenters, blacksmiths, cultivators, grain-grocers, businessmen, all came and said. "I am becoming a Sikh of the Guru" Then some sweets were requisitioned and he signalled a man to get up and perform *ardās* [4] The man read something in the Panjābī language. This they called *ardās*[4] It seems that they heard the word '*arzdast*' (عرضداشت) from the mouth of the Mughals and they made this into *ardās*.[4] And after that a sword, or a dagger or a knife or anything of the class of weapons was placed in those sweets and Kolī, Jāt and persons wearing the sacred thread, all ate it together. And what was left was called *parsād* In their idiom *parsad* is equivalent of tabarruk (تبرک). In place of *salām 'alaik* (peace be upon you) they said, "*Wāh-guru kā Fatah*" (Lord's be the victory) In the time of battle they always uttered the word "*Wāh-guru*" When they drew the the reins of their horses they uttered "*Wah, wāh*" and dishevelled the hairs of their heads.

At last in a few days Tegh Bahādur died and Gobind sat in his place and began to create troubles The Faujdars of that side wanted to remove the troubles. Gobind also became ready with his party and began to harass the towns and villages and took to plunder. He also began to plunder the parganahs In two or three battles they became victorious. Gobind reached the tract of Doāb which is a well-known place in the *sarkār* of Lahore and one side of which is attached to the northern hills, of which the Rājahs are subordinate and tributary to that Faujdār. And there is a place named Mākhowāl which he fortified and a crowd of horsemen and foot-soldiers assembled around him. After capturing the Doāb they began to plunder the whole country and set fire to the villages, killed the inhabitants and made prisoners of them. And placing the children of Mussalmāns on the heads of spears exhibited them to their parents. Whoever said "*Wāh-guru*"

4 *Ardās* means supplication Specifically it means the prayer which the Sikhs repeat after the completion of the morning and evening obligatory divine services and of the uninterrupted reading or chanting of the Granth Sāhib (Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vol. V pp 331, 332).

was released, otherwise he was killed. And the Sikhs promulgated the path of robbery wherever they were in the Subah of Lahore.

In the meanwhile,[5] Bahādur Shah became ready for the proper chastisement of Rājah Jay Singh and Rājah Ajit Singh because some offences on their part had come to light. At the time of crossing the river Narbadā the two Rājahs fled towards Udaipur, which was the residence of the Rānā. The Rānā regarded the arrival of these two men, none of whom had ever come to his city, and who, on the other hand, had tried to devastate his country according to the orders of the Pādshāh, as a gracious good fortune, and married two of his daughters with the two Rājahs. The Pādshāh himself went to the country of Dhandhār and the city of Amber, which is the capital of that country, and just below the side of which Jaynagar has now been built and where the Rājah of Kachwāhah lives, and bringing them into occupation, wanted to give proper punishment to these two Rājahs.[6]

(About this time) the news of this occurrence (in the Panjāb) reached the holy ears and the Emperor himself turned towards that country Strong troops had already started. One or two battles they fought like heroes Guru Gobind fled and took shelter in the hills. And wherever Sikhs were found, orders were to the effect that they were to be killed without question. The Sikhs, cutting the hairs of their head without any hesitation, began to merge themselves with the people, and hid themselves in the work of cultivation. Excepting the place of Mākhowāl, where Guru Gobind lived, Sikhs were to be found nowhere in the whole Subah, even if they were, they passed their days like *Nānakpanthī faqirs* For several months Gobind Singh fought with the Faujdār of the Doāb from the crude fort which he had built at Mākhowāl. At last, his provisions diminished, his men deserted, and one night among the nights, Gobind fled away. And, nominating one man in his place, kept him engaged in war and said "Entering into negotiations for peace, hand over the place to them and say, "I am Gobind Singh." Accordingly in this manner, the envoy came out of the fort and said · "Gobind Singh wants promise of safety and is giving up the place" When the Faujdār heard this, he asked whether

5 The construction of the sentence is such that a literal translation has not been possible

6 The reference here is, no doubt, to Bahādur Shāh's second invasion of Rajpūtānā which took place in 1710 (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol I, pp 71 73)

he was accepting Islam, otherwise it would be seen where he would remain living. He did not agree. The Faujdār's men continued the fight, captured the fort and imprisoned the man whom he (Gobind) had stationed there. Under the impression that Gobind Singh had been captured drums of rejoicing were beaten. When they (Faujdār's men) brought him before the Faujdār and interrogated him, it was learnt that the man, who had been captured, was an impostor. The Faujdār asked. "Why did you do this?" He said. "For saving the life of the Guru I did this, so that I may die but my Guru will live."[7] The Faujdār then and there sent him to the house of hell. After that the Sikhs, in every parganah, at intervals of one or two years, assembling in batches of one hundred or two hundred, created disturbances and plundered the merchants and the travellers. They also attacked helpless villages. When the news of these disturbances reached the Faujdār, they were hunted out and wherever found killed and those that remained cut their hairs and became merged in the people (in general).

In this manner the time of Farrukh-siyar came. In the reign of Farrukh-siyar a Sikh named Banda made his appearance and in the very beginning he started robbery and opened his hands in looting the villages. Wazir Khān, the Governor of Sarhind, being helpless, sent a petition to the Emperor detailing these events. The Faujdār of the Doāb was ordered to bring proper chastisement. When the Faujdār pursued them they fled in other directions, many sorts of men assembled around him and things came to such a pass that the Faujdār and the inhabitants all became helpless When many plunderers assembled together they destroyed many people. And when the Faujdār reached near them they disappeared among the people and Banda fled to the hilly country. When his troops became more powerful he went towards the jungle. Once taking a direct route, halting at every *kos*, Banda together with his party, his horsemen and foot-soldiers arrived at the Qasbah Tālwairy, which was at a distance of six halts from Shāhjahānābād. Before this news came out, he again returned towards Sarhind. At that time the *Wazir* and the *Amir-ul-Umāra*, were connected with the Bārah Sayyids. As they were famous for bravery they wrote to

7 According to Sikh tradition this incident happened at Chāmkaur and not at Mākhowāl. According to Macauliffe, Sant Singh was the name of the man who was left in the fort "The Guru gave his plume to Sant Singh, clothed him in his armour, and seated him in the upper room he was about to vacate" Macauliffe, *op cit*, vol V, p 190

the Subahdār of Lahore to the effect: "So long as you do not capture this *Kafir* you will have no place in this *darbār*, on the contrary, it will be a cause of offence on your part." Abdus Samad Khān was the Subahdār of that place. He kept as his Wazir a man from Afghanistān, who was the Pādshāhzādā of Turān and who was a close relation of Nawab Muhammad Amin Khān, father of Nawab Itimād-ud-daulah Qamruddin Khān, and maintained as servants with him many Mughals of Afghanistān. He sent all these men to uproot the party, (Banda's) and driving him from the whole *Subah* again forced him into the *Doāb*, all ingress and egress was stopped and he was reduced to the extremity of hopelessness. But the order of the Sayyids to capture the scoundrel came again and again, and at last after a year he was captured and many people were killed in these battles. A crude fort, which is called *ghaddi* in Hindi, was made strong and a gun of tamarind wood was made and used for a long time and at last it burst. After the cutting off of provisions (attempts were made) to tempt the Sikhs towards Islam but they refused. Till at last all were captured. Binding their necks with chains and putting them on camels (they) sent them to the Emperor's *darbār*. One thousand six hundred men came to Shāhjahānābād with Banda.

The Emperor's order was issued to keep them prisoners in the yard of the *Kotwāli* And every day a batch of one hundred was brought out and each was told that if he became a Mussalmān he would be released, (but) they never agreed and every one was killed. In these discussions if there was delay, the Sikhs used to tell the executioner: "Oh cuckold[1] make haste, my companions have gone and I am waiting." Till one day, at the time of killing a boy who was thirteen years old and who was very beautiful, the *Kotwāl* stopped (the executioner) and, calling him to his presence, said: "I am acknowledging you as my son, and applying to the Emperor. I am reprieving your death sentence" Although he was vigorously pressed, he did not agree and said: "Kill me quickly." For one day the execution was kept in abeyance and the news was taken to the Emperor. Orders were issued that if he embraced Islam his death sentence might be pardoned. Otherwise, "to kill the serpent and let go its young ones is not the work of wise men," as Shaikh Sādi said At last, he, too, was killed. In this way the whole (of the votaries) of this bad religion got the punishment of their own deeds. From morning till sunset the men of the city came for this show, especially the inhabitants of the tracts near about, who

had suffered much in the hands of these men, came and became very pleased and expressed their detestation of them; and offered prayers for the Emperor. In this manner the turn of Banda, the evil-doer, came. He was taken over the whole town and drums were beaten and afterwards he was killed in front of the *Kotwāli* yard. Taking the order of the Emperor those Sikhs, who were shopkeepers and grocers in the city, took the death body of Banda outside the city, near Bārahpalah, which is a well-known place. The reason for this name is that the water of the rains went by that place like a flood, and for heavy rains the road for coming and going was closed. Over that ditch, that is the path of the flood, a bridge was built with bricks and stones with twelve porches for the water to pass, and for this reason it was called Bārahpalah. In the Hindi language *Jasr* (جسر) is the name of bridge. In short, in that place, in black earth, the black-hearted man was interred.[8] Now the Sikhs go there at intervals of eight days. Nawab Abdus Samad Khān, as a reward for this quick service, got a *mansab* of 6000, a bedecked *palki*, elephants, horses, ornament of gold, jewels worn in the turban, a turban bedecked with gold, upper garment, a pearl necklace, and a few parganahs as *jāgir* in the province of the Panjāb During his governorship the administration reached perfection and the leading Zamindārs paid their due tributes and presented their own daughters as presents. After this, for some time, the trouble from the Sikhs was entirely absent.

After the death of Abdus Samad Khān the *Subahdāri* of Lahore was given to his son Zakariyā Khān and his marriage was settled at Shāhjahānābād with the sister of Nawab Itimād-ud-daulah Qamruddin Khān and he was given the title of Khān Bahādur And the people in his days became very much contented, the price of grains became very low, the sepoys had enjoyment of life, and men passed their days in ease and safety Thieves and robbers became extinct From Kābul to Lahore and from Lahore to Shāhjahanābād the business of buying and selling of the merchants was very brisk. Many of the learned and the scholars, and the saints got daily and monthly stipends Twenty thousand horsemen, Mughal and Hindusthāni, were always attached to his stirrup Nobody was allowed to go beyond his

8 The execution of the Sikhs commenced on the 5th of March, 1716 (O S) Banda himself was executed together with his son on the 19th of June, 1716 (N S) The letter written by John Surman and Edward Stephenson to the Governor and Council of Fort William in Bengal explains the motive for this delay (Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, pp 224-234)

proper limits and everybody, in proper manners and right path, remained steady and dutiful. A wonderful time passed, which, for the people of Lahore, is memorable

After this the rumour that Nādir Shāh was coming became very strong. Many letters came from the Khān Bahādur to the *darbār* to the effect that reinforcements should be sent so that he might combine with the *Subahdār* of Kābul, but there was hesitation. In the meanwhile, Nādir reached the Khaibar The Khān Bahādur wrote that as Nādir Shāh had crossed the Khaibar he could do nothing Nobody took his words sensibly. The more Asaf Jāh prayed that the Emperor himself should go to Lahore or the situation would become critical, Khān Daurān said "The Turānis are all confederates and false news come, if Nādir really come, I shall lead the horsemen." At last, the Afghān officers closed the Khaibar Pass, which was a very strong place, and petitioned to the Emperor but without result. And one of the Varakjye Afghāns went to Nādir Shāh and showed him the way Without letting them know he reached Khaibar Kotla. The said Afghān had enmity with the *Sardār* of his tribe and he took Nādir Shāh's men in an unknown way in such a manner that the whole Varakjye clan was decimated. The children and women became prisoners in the hands of the Qizilbāshes In one march Nādir Shāh passed Peshāwar and reached the river of Attock Coming out with his troops the Khān Bahādur prepared for war The Mughals, who were with him, said "It is known that you would get a good reception at the hands of Nādir Shāh, it is better that you stand aside, or go over to Nādir Shāh." The Khān Bahādur accepted none of these proposals. In the meantime terms came from Nadir Shāh to the effect · "You are a Mussalmīn and the inhabitants of this country are very pleased with you, I want that you are not harmed in any way. If you give me passage I will go to Hindusthān. If I win victory the whole country[9] . if I be defeated, it is the will of God. But when I return you would not put opposition." In reply the Khān Bahādur said "If no harm befalls my country and if my prestige does not suffer, I agree to this." Accordingly, when the Shāh came near, the Khān Bahādur met him, and Nādir Shāh dismissed him with honour and Lahore remained in the hands of the Khān Bahādur He had two sons, one Yahiyā Khān and the second Iqtadār-ud-daulah[10] Nādir Shāh wanted

9 The manuscript is blurred here and could not be deciphered

10 According to other authorities the name of the second son was Hayātullah

the younger son to be his companion, gave him the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān, took him with himself and finished the affair of Hindusthān. On his way back also Nādir Shāh came to Lahore and treated the Khān Bahādur well. He had an intention of attacking Nur Muhammad Latti. Again, he took Shāh Nawaz Khān with him and finished the operation. Because of this coming and going of the troops of Nādir Shāh the Khān Bahādur could no longer maintain his authority as previously. The Sikhs began to make their appearance in some villages where they had concealed themselves and had been passing their time in obscurity Wherever they found weak officers, on them they began to play their hands in the way of theft.

Near about this time the Khān Bahādur died.[11] His sons were the sons of the sister of the Wazir Nawab Qamruddīn Khān, and the daughter of Nawab Qamruddīn Khān also was married to the elder son Yahiyā Khān. The *sanad* of the *Subahdāri* was sent in his (Yahiyā Khān's) name from the *darbār*. Shāh Nawāz Khān was very insolent and a shedder of blood from his boyhood and his bravery was very great. Especially, the companionship of Nādir Shāh increased his insolence two-fold and bad ideas got way in his head. The rule of the elder brother was not liked by him. When the Sikhs found the position in the city like this, they began their old game. When Yahiyā Khān wanted to chastise them and sent troops (for the purpose) Shāh Nawāz Khān used secretly to write to the Sikhs · "You hold on with perseverance," and by an air of friendliness made the Mughal *Sardārs* (favourably) inclined towards himself. Once he took the responsibility for the urgent business of the Sikhs in his own hands and entered into their midst. The Sikhs, with pleasure, became his companions and Shāh Nawāz Khān began to plunder the Subah extensively. Again, there was a compromise between the two brothers. In the meantime most of the places were given in writing to the Sikhs and he (Shāh Nawāz Khān) began to keep his hair and after this, bringing the Mughals to his side, openly engaged in war against his brother. In the city of Lahore lines of entrenchment and other preparations for war were made complete. At last Shāh Nawāz Khān was victorious and after a great struggle Yahiyā Khān was captured and made prisoner He took the

Khān The Khān Bahādur had also a third son named Mir Bāqi (Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol I, p. 191)

11 This was in 1745 A.D

Subahdāri without any partnership and created an excellent army of the foreign Mughals.

Nawāb Qamruddīn Khān was dissatisfied for the sake of his daughter and did not grant the *Sana* -- -- - -- -- ..... the imperial *Sanad* Shāh Nawāz Khān occupied the whole Subah, together with the Subah of Multān. He chose a strange path, and wrecklessness and shedding of blood he made into a habit He erected a fort for sitting in *darbār* like the eight-towered fort of Shāhjahānābād where the emperors themselves used to sit, and the *Sardārs* were ordered to remain standing (before him) He again turned his attention towards uprooting the Sikhs. When a Sikh was brought before him his belly was cut in his presence and sometimes his brain was taken out by driving a nail (into his head) and kept preserved in his presence. If any Sikh was brought prisoner at the time when he was engaged in eating, he asked that his bladder be extracted and brought, and according to his orders, the executioner took it out and put it on his tray, and he went on eating his food with pleasure He never hesitated in ordering executions. If any of the inhabitants of the city brought to him any complaint, he, without any thought, ordered both to be killed If any mother complained to him about her son, that he did not look after her, then he would give signal for the execution of the son before her eyes. When he (the son) was taken to the place of execution and the mother began to cry, he ordered the executioner to kill both of them. He gave the revenues of the Panjāb to the foreign troops. One day, in course of his perambulations, he went to the place where he had kept his brother a prisoner and said. "My mind desires that I root out the two eyes of my elder brother." The sound of these words reached the ears of Yahiyā Khān and he felt extremely worried and helpless He used to weep before everybody and ask for a remedy. By chance a free maid-servant, who brought him his food, said· "I will take you out by seating you on the food tray." She did this at the time of return (by putting him) in place of the plates and dishes used in eating. A few horses had been kept ready near that house. At the fall of night he got on horse-back and rode forty *koses* of way in course of the night. On the second day Shāh Nawāz Khān got this news. Many searches were made but without result. In course of five days Yahiyā Khān reached Shāhjahānābād

Near about this time the report of the coming of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, which had not yet been heard, became current in quarters on the side of

Kābul. Shāh Nawāz Khān wrote many letters asking him to come this way so that the two together might conquer Hindusthān Ahmad Shāh agreed and started towards Kābul. At that time he kept up his correspondence with friendly moderation and Shāh Nawāz Khān thought that he would rule and that he would finish all his great tasks with this man as his collaborator, and giving him the office of a great Subah he would make him agree to his proposal. Ahmad Shāh began to send him letters of friendship and such others that were likely to cement the friendship, so that with his friendship it might be easy for him to cross the river at Attock When he had crossed the river easily Shāh Nawāz Khān sent an envoy to inform him that it was all well that he had come according to his call. "Now let us march towards Hindusthān. If God pleases, after winning victory and after ascending the imperial throne, the office of the Wazir will be fixed for you and I myself shall engage in the imperial duties." In reply he (Ahmad Shāh) said "God has given me power and I am not inclined towards help from anybody. He who will come to my service after thinking about his own welfare would be the gainer However, to conquer countries and to rule as Emperor is written in my destiny." He began to issue orders throughout the tracts from Qandahār to Herāt and from Kabul to this place and wrote to Shah Nawāz "If you obey me, an extensive country will be given to you" The *darwesh* Shāh Sābir, in whom he (Ahmad Shāh) had much faith, and who was a man given over to piety and contemplation, was sent with the envoy to make this offer. When Shāh Sābir brought this news to Shāh Nawāz Khān, his head, which was full of the air of pride, was at once upset, and he said "I shall be the Emperor, I gave Ahmad Shah the passage to come here" Shāh Sābir said "God has given him the kingdom, you make it your duty to obey him and you will be given the post of the Wazir" Shāh Nawāz Khān angrily said. "You are a mad man and I do not like the words of mad men, you will receive the fruits of your actions." Shāh Sābir said "God the High will make you fall down from your position and I shall see." His (Shāh Nawāz's) pride within him made him say "I am presently making you fall from your position." He issued orders and (accordingly) Shāh Sābir's hands and feet were bound, an iron chain was stuck in his neck, a dog was brought and tied to Shāh Sābir's neck, stones were pelted at him, and he was made to roll on the ground. And he said. "The punishment for what you have done me you will receive." Shāh Sābir was told. "Say

that Shāh Nawāz Khān is the Emperor and Ahmad Shāh his *Wazir*." He said: "Unquestionably Ahmad Shāh is the Emperor and you will leave this place as a vagabond."[12]

However, this news reached Ahmad Shāh. Immediately leaving his camp he advanced in three days the distance of twelve days, reached the vicinity of Lahore and camped there. Shāh Nawāz Khān made preparations for war and arranged the lines of entrenchment around the city. There were twelve thousand foreign horsemen, who belonged to his own clan, and every one of whom had arms of silver and golden weapons of war, and horses from China, Arabia and Turkey, who tore even cannons to pieces, together with proper and sufficient accoutrements of war. The people of Lahore used to say that even in the days of the Khān Bahadur such a number of foreign Mughals with such accoutrements did never assemble together. But inspite of this the decree of Providence was that, without any battle and without any firing of guns, the men fled in course of the night. From whichever entrenchment Shāh Nawāz Khān took information he found that the men had fled. Being helpless he, too, leaving his things, treasury, arsenal and attendants and getting on a swift camel, being unsuccessful, put his feet on the field of decline. In five days he reached Shāhjahānābād.

The soldiers who were in the parganahs without any occupation fell into the hands of the Sikhs with their equipments and some of the Zamindārs who had received wealth and property, began to behave in the manner of the Sikhs. The affair of Ahmad Shāh lingered on. Shāh Nawāz Khān had Shah Sābir killed, together with the dog, in his presence at the time he fled. And also, when Ahmad Shāh again fled towards Lahore, being defeated in Hindusthān, a portion of his equipments fell into the hands of the Zamindārs, and, in every parganah, manufacturing arms of war, they occupied some of the villages. Itimād ud-daulah Nawāb Qamruddīn Khān Bahādur died in this battle,[13] and on his son, Nawāb Muin-ul-Mulk, who had performed many deeds of valour and to whose firmness the victory over Ahmad Shāh was due, the *Subahdāri* of Lahore, Multān, Kābul and Tattah was conferred. He pursued Ahmad Shāh

12 This is a restoration, the manuscript is here stained.

13 This battle was fought at Mānupur, a village ten miles north west of Sarhind, in March, 1748. For details see Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. I, pp. 220-230.

Abdāli and got the title of *Rustam-i-Hind* Ahmad Shāh fled towards Qandahar and he could not halt anywhere in his way.

Rustam-i-Hind took up his position at Lahore and the Sikh trouble began. In this opportunity the Sikhs assembled together and began to fight the Faujdārs. *Rustam-i-Hind* used to employ his crack troops to attack the followers of this bad religion and to plunder the enemy. Many came as prisoners and were executed. At intervals of one or two months his troops attacked them. Though the scoundrels did not possess the strength for war, still they left nothing undone to harm the parganahs and to commit robbery. When the troops came near them, in pursuance of their old practice, they took shelter under the Zamindārs and some went towards Kohistān After the return of the troops they again stealthily began their depredations. And the Mughals brought their severed heads and got prizes. Muin-ul-Mulk himself, under the cover of hunting, rode a horse and after going five or six *koses*, sent the horsemen to those tracts whereform he got news about the Sikhs. Reaching there unexpectedly the horsemen killed (most of) them and the rest fled In the days of Muin-ul-Mulk the roads were cleared in course of a year and the Sikhs accepted the position of cultivators In this way two years passed. Ahmad Shāh Abdāli again got ready and fell upon Muin-ul-Mulk. It was the reign of Mirzā Ahmad Shāh and Nawāb Bahādur Khwājah Sarā was the *muktear* Nothing in the way of preparation was done from the central Government Ahmad Shāh came near and *Rustam-i-Hind* fought with him for five months and was afterwards defeated Ahmad Shāh reached Lahore and took away all the weapons and equipments of war. Though he had experienced various exhibitions of warlike skill (on the part of Muin-ul-Mulk) he did not put his hand on his honour and gave him the *Subahdāri* of Lahore on his (Ahmad Shāh's) behalf and the whole country remained as before.

In course of these troubles the Sikhs again assembled together. In the meantime Shāh Nawāz Khān reached the borders of Multān from Shāhjahānābād, passing through the Lakhi jungle, and because of the quarrel between the Irānis and the Turānis, Safdar Jung issued the *Sanad* of the *Subahdāri* of Lahore in the name of Shāh Nawāz Khān. And of the Qalaqchi Mughals, who were at Lahore, some fled barehanded and joined Shāh Nawāz Khān in expectation of his favour. He secretly wrote to the Sikhs: "You bring trouble and harm to the Subah of Lahore." For mad

men one single hint is enough. The Sikhs scattered themselves here and there and roamed about, saying: "Shāh Nawāz, Shāh Nawāz." *Rustam-i-Hind* himself remained at Lahore for subduing the Sikhs and sent an army under the generalship of his Dewān Rājah Kaurā Mal Khatri against Shāh Nawāz Khān. Shāh Nawāz Khān fought with bravery, and after wounding several Mughals with his own hands, died. The ambition of *Rustam-i-Hind* doubled itself. Safdar Jung again sent a *Sanad* in the name of Nāsir Khān, the Subahdār of Kābul.[14] Nāsir Khān came towards Lahore and, coming out of Lahore, *Rustam-i-Hind* defeated him. In course of these troubles the business of uprooting the Sikhs could not be proceeded with. But up to that time no distinct place was in their occupation. They lived scattered in the way of thieves and robbers. About two thousand horsemen remained scattered throughout the Subah and, wherever one or two hundred assembled, troubles began and they again fled. No month passed in which ten or twenty severed heads of Sikhs were not brought to the city.

In accordance with the will of God *Rustam-i-Hind* accidentally died in young age. He left a boy of one year and his wife became regent. The soldiers were separated into two groups, one Mughal and the other Hindusthāni. One was against the other. The Begum sided more with the Hindusthānis. After some time the Mughals became dissatisfied, drove out the Begum and they made a man named Bihkāri Khān the regent, and he became the owner of the country. The Begum wrote to Ahmad Shāh detailing the actual events. Ahmad Shāh sent troops to Lahore under Sardār Zaman Khān. The Mughals fled and again the Begum got the regency. The Begum put Bihkāri Khān before her, bound his hands and feet, rolled him in a sheet of canvass and then ordered her maid-servants to beat him with sticks. Then taking a dagger in her hand she herself struck him twice and (the body) was thown outside. The Durrāni troops in reality ruled though the name was of the Begum. A daughter of Muin-ul-Mulk, whose name was Umdat-ul-nesa, was betrothed from her childhood to the Nawāb-Wazir Imād-ul Mulk. The Mughal *Sardārs*, who had come flying from

14 Nāsir Khān had been the governor of Kābul at the time the province was ceded to Persia by the treaty of 1739 and had been forced by Nādir Shāh to continue as his governor. With the rise of the Abdāli he left Kābul and came to Lahore and Muin-ul-Mulk appointed him Faujdār of the four *Mahals*—Siālkot, Pasrur, Gujrat and Aurangabad.

Lahore, complained to the Nawāb-Wazir Azam Ghaziuddīn Khān Bahādur[15] of the Begum's high-handedness and immoderate conduct and urged that she was destroying the honour of the Mughal name and that she wanted to marry her daughter with the son of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni. As the matter was concerned with honour the Nawāb-Wazir became very much angry and taking with himself the Shāhzādā Ali Gowhar, who was then associated with State business, went towards Lahore. During these troubles nobody paid any attention towards subduing the Sikhs. They looted the country everywhere and did not pay rents at all. When the Nawāb-Wazir reached the vicinity of Lahore the Sikhs went away in another direction. Big Rājahs and big Zamindārs paid him visits. He had six thousand brave horsemen with him and he crossed the Sutlej. The Subahdār of Kāshmir came down from the hills and wrote letters in which there were firm promises of friendship in the matter of Kābul and matters connected with attacking Ahmad Shāh. The Rājah of Jammu who was well-known among the Rājahs of the hills and through whose friendship the Subah of Kāshmir came into the hands of Ahmad Shāh, also expressed his desire of seeing him (Wazir) and sent *Vakils* with presents And the troops of Ahmad Shāh fled to Qandahār in a helpless condition

The Wazir sent two thousand horsemen and several *khojas* to Lahore on an expedition They came to Lahore, passing seven days' distance in three days, and making the Begum a prisoner brought her together with her belongings (to the Wazir) He (Wazir) gave the *Subahdāri* to an old Mughal friend named Jamiluddīn Khān, returned and entered Shāhjahanābād without trouble. From her prison the Begum wrote to Ahmad Shāh· "My relative has made me a prisoner without any reason. You are a great Pādshāh and you called me your own daughter, and while you are living I am being subjected to such indignities." All the Durrāni troops that Ahmad Shāh had assembled as a precautionary measure when the Wazir had gone towards Lahore, and two thousand Beloch horsemen whose commander was Nāsir Khan Barohi, twelve thousand Uzbak horsemen who had been brought from Balkh, eight thousand horsemen of Darwesh Ali Khān Herāti, who were Qizilbāshi Irānis, Bāj Chung Khān, Zamindār of Bangash with five thousand troops, and ten thousand horse-

15 This was Shihābuddin, who afterwards gained the titles of Imād-ul-Mulk, Ghazi-ud-din Khān Bahādur etc, and became the Wazir of the Empire in June, 1754

men from Kābul and Peshāwar under the command of Samad Khān Mahmand reached, by continuous marches, the vicinity of Shāhjāhānābād and the case of the Nawāb-Wazir was completely spoiled. In order to describe these incidents a separate book is necessary. For this reason, the incidents of Lahore have been written shortly, just to keep the connection of events in hand.

The fact is that Ahmad Shāh Durrāni reached Shāhjahānābād.[16] Mughlāni Begum was released and the servants of the Begum, wherever they found the Nawāb-Wazir's men, beat them with *lathis* and began to ride the Nawāb-Wazir's own beautiful horses. Ahmad Shāh gave the Begum the title of Sultān Mirzā.[17] A domestic of *Rustam-i-Hind*, whose name was Arjamand and who was a sincere friend of the Nawāb-Wazir, was called to her presence by the Begum and she struck him with a dagger and killed him. She sent information to her daughter to the effect that she intended to solemnise her marriage with Timur Shāh, the son of Ahmad Shāh. Umdadunnesa Begum, whose chastity he ever preserved, said "I shall kill myself. My age is fourteen, inspite of that how can my marriage be settled without my consent?" In short, the Begum played upon her hopes and fears, and cajoled her but Umda Begum did not agree. Just at that time, when the Durrāni trouble was going on and the Nawāb-Wazir was a prisoner, all the jewellery of Umda Begum was taken away, excepting the piece of cloth which she had been wearing, and nothing else remained. It is a fact that ornaments to the value of twenty-four lakhs had been in her name from the time of her father. All was taken away by force. One night she was married to Imdād-ul-Mulk in a poor manner and given away to him.

At the time of his departure Ahmad Shāh left his son as the Subahdār of Lahore, kept Samad Khān with troops at Sarhind, and appointed Najib-ud-dowla at Shāhjahānābād. The troops of Ahmad Shāh began to watch the Sikhs and very often the troops plundered the Sikhs. The number of Sikh horsemen also reached about ten thousand and the footmen were innumerable. In the meantime the Nawāb-Wazir, taking with him Ahmad

16 This was on the 28th January, 1757

17 It is said that, being very much pleased by the services rendered by Mughlāni Begam, Ahmad Shāh had cried out, "Hitherto I had styled you my daughter, but from today I shall call you my *son* and give you the title of Sultān Mirzā." (Sarkar, *op cit*, vol II, pp 64, 65)

Khān Bangash, Raghunāth Rāo, Holkār, Shamser Bahādur and others, and assembling about a lakh of troops, drove Najib Khān out of Shāhjahānābād and also drove Samad Khān out of Sarhind. Timur Shāh fled from Lahore and the city of Lahore and the villages to the limits of the Panjāb were occupied by the Marāthās.[18] One year passed in this manner. Again Ahmad Shāh Durrāni came, the Marāthās fled, Ahmad Shāh reached Shāhjahānābād and the Nawāb-Wazir began to live in the fortresses with the Marāthās. On his way back, Ahmad Shāh again kept troops at Sarhind, Doāb, Lahore and Rhotās. This time many Sikhs were killed. Wherever the troops of Ahmad Shāh heard of the Sikhs, crossing eighty *koses* of distance in one day and one night, they fell upon the Sikhs and punished them. When Ahmad Shāh crossed three rivers of the Panjāb, a Sikh named Charat Singh followed Ahmad Shāh with one thousand two hundred horsemen, and everyday, when the troops halted, they came to view and the Durrānis began to fight with them. After fighting like the advance guard of an army till a watch of the night passed, they went away and the troops of Ahmad Shāh kept watch for the whole night. In the morning, at the time of starting, they again came to view and again the whole day they remained hidden. Again at dusk till two watches of the night, they fought like an advance guard as before, and at night they used to camp at a distance of ten *koses* from Ahmad Shāh's army. For a long time Ahmad Shāh wanted to form lines for a pitched battle or that they might come into his hands but no opportunity came. Ahmad Shāh crossed the river at Attock and went to Qandahār.

The officers of the Subah of Lahore had always to remain in the anxieties of war. At last, one day the Sikhs hid themselves here and there and a small section among them appeared in the city of Lahore. The Durrānis also, according to their fixed custom, came out in the way of an advance guard and found that about one thousand of the Sikh troops were there, and sent news to the Subahdār. The Subahdār himself, who was Sardār Jahan Khān, got upon his horse and alone driving the Sikhs back passed about 15 *koses* of way and came back. Again the Sikhs attacked and near about the time of evening the battle became furious. The

18 Raghunath Rao captured Lahore in April, 1758. Adina Beg Khān became the Subahdār on behalf of the Marāthās and he, in his turn, appointed Khwājah Khān to govern Lahore as his deputy. Later on, after the death of Adina Beg, Sābāji Sindhia was sent to take the governorship directly into Marāthā hands

Durrānis, too, standing erect, advanced. Just at this time of struggle ten thousand Sikhs horsemen with Charat Singh, Tārā Singh Ghebah, Jassā Singh Thokah, Hari Singh Bhāngi, Lehnā Singh, Gujār Singh, Jhandā Singh and others arrived and joined the battle from one side. The Durrāni troops, being unable to stand, retreated at night towards the city, fighting. In this battle many Sikhs were killed and many Durrānis also were killed and wounded. Rather about two hundred Durrāni men were made prisoners. After this Sardār Jahan Khān went to Kābul. Assembling together, the Sikhs fell upon Jain Khān, who was the Governor of Sarhind on behalf of Ahmad Shāh. Jain Khān fought for many days and at last died. After this the Sikhs divided the country (among themselves) and Jhandā Singh went towards Multān with eight thousand horsemen and conquered it. The town of Sarhind, which was a very good place and where there lived many nobles, saints, scholars and businessmen, was entirely destroyed. Three of them occupied the city of Lahore as partners and the officers of all the three sat together.[19]

After a year Ahmad Shāh came again and they gave way and scattered themselves here and there. Ahmad Shāh destroyed Amritsar, where there were a deep tank, several buildings on it, and a temple of the Sikhs. It is a custom among the Sikhs that they call the day of *Dewali Dewala*, and they assemble at Amritsar and take their baths. When a Sikh is wounded in battle, he is kept in a house erected by the side of the tank, and the water of the tank is rubbed in the wound instead of medicine. From there Ahmad Shāh went in search of the Sikhs and passed one hundred *koses* in course of one day and one night. Inspite of this the Sikhs got the information and fled. Some were killed, the camps were plundered and about one thousand horses came into the hands of the Durrānis. Some of the Zamindārs told Ahmad Shāh that on that side there was a notable Zamindār of the parganah of Sarhind named Alā Jāt, who had been a cultivator under the Sarhind officers. In recent times he strengthened some of the Mughal forts and declared himself as Singh. The Sikhs very often came to his shelter and at the time of battle he supplied them with food and other necessaries. After waiting one day, Ahmad Shāh, on the second day,

19 It seems that there has been some confusion here and that these incidents should be placed later, i.e., in 1763. The incidents described in the next paragraph, viz., the destruction of Amritsar and the subjugation of Alā Singh, took place in 1762.

attacked the fort of Alā Jāt, which was named Dhāndāh Dhurāh but Alā was not in that fort. The fort was very strong but it fell at the first attack. Alā Jāt paid a considerable amount of money and came to see Ahmad Shāh. Again Ahmad Shāh went away and the Sikhs were established as before. For the fourth time Ahmad Shāh came to within six marches of Shāhjahānābād but the Sikhs did not fight him. They gave him way and went away to their own places. After this Ahmad Shāh did not come again.

The Sikhs cultivated the land in full strength. They destroyed the nobles and the sepoys and made the cultivators and businessmen favourably inclined (towards themselves). About fifty thousand horsemen with beautiful horses and innumerable footmen were made ready and they amicably divided the country in the following manner—Jhandā Singh became the owner of Multān, Charat Singh occupied that side of Lahore which was called *Cār Mahal* and whose boundary extended to the side of the river at Attock, and in Lahore and the adjoining *mahal* Lehnā Singh Gujār Singh and other Sikhs became masters. Those Sikhs, who live near about Lahore, are, in their idiom, called *Manjhāwāla;* and those Sikhs, who are overlords in the Doāb, such as Jassā Singh Kalal, Jassā Singh Thokah and Tārā Singh Ghebah, are known as *Burā Dal* In the jungly country the parganahs of Sarhind and all others, the overlord was Alā Jāt's son,[20] whose name was Amar Singh and who was a *Pādshāhi Zamindār*. Six or seven thousand horsemen were always in his service and infantrymen he had to any number he wanted. He has five or six strong forts in his hands[21]
Out of forty lakhs of revenue forty thousand are given to the Sikh *Dal* when they come within his boundaries The place of his residence is Pātiāla. According to the idiom of the Sikhs the infantryman is called *Shāhjādah* Those Sikhs who are barefooted are called *nabtāk* His troops go to those portions of villages and parganahs that are under the occupation of others, give assurances of safety and take money This money is called *qārrāb*.[22] *Qārrāb* is, in the Hindi language, equivalent of that utensil in which black sugar, sweets, and other things are prepared. From whichever place the Sikhs take money, (with that) they make *qārrāb* in the name of Nānak,

20 Amar Singh was the grandson and not the son of Alā Singh

21 The meaning here is not clear and possibly something has been left out

22 This is more generally known as *rākhi*, something like the Marāthā *chauth* (Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power* p 208)

cook *bālooāh* in that, and distribute it as *parsād* And meat they call *mahā-parsād*. Meat and wine they take in plenty.

After the departure of Ahmad Shāh, Charat Singh and others established themselves with complete ease The Sikhs of the *Burrā Dal* every year sent troops in the direction of Shāhjahānābād and, so long as Najib Khān was alive, he used to fight with them every year and always he won but the country was devastated by them. Still in every parganah crude forts were built and for every village there was a fort with mud walls. Nothing was lost except grains and it was only after many battles that they became victorious. Sometimes driving them out of his own boundary he pushed them back to theirs. Then the *Manjhāwāla* Sikhs helped the *Burrā Dal*. Except on these occasions, they did not come this way. They had no necessity to plunder, good countries were in their hands When the Emperor entered Shāhjahānābād[23] their strength increased. Some of the *mahals* near Shāhjahānābād, which were in its possession during the days of Najib Khān, are now, owing to the negligence of the Government, in the hands of the Sikhs But Mirzā Shafi Khān (peace be upon him) rescued many of the *mahals* When the present Emperor attacked Zābitā Khān, Mirzā Najaf Khan was with him with one lakh of horsemen. Three thousand horsemen of the Sikhs were also with Zābitā Khan In course of the advance guard actions they used to plunder and go away At last, the day on which Zābitā Khān was defeated, the Sikhs went away quite safely and they took Zābitā Khan with them For this reason a good understanding arose between them.

When the *Burrā Dal* comes towards Hindusthān, five or six thousand regular troops and the rest in many different bands come with them. If for the purpose of negotiation any *vakil* arrive on behalf of any *Sardar*, the respectable *Sardārs* do not enter into discussions with him at first On the first day they spread a carpet in some place and the Sikhs, coming in bands, sit together with the *Sardar* One man is told to perform *ardās*. Getting up the man reads something and says· "The *Vakil* of such and such *Sardar* has come to negotiate, what is the will of the Khālsāhji?" Every man, who had been sitting there, says that which is in his mind One says "I shall fight, I do not agree to the terms." Some one says "I am

23 The reference is to Shāh Alam's entrance into Delhi on the 3rd January, 1772 after his alliance with Marāthās

starting tomorrow in such and such a direction." Another speaks foully. What the *Sardār* himself wants he says, in a low voice, in the ears of the *Vakīl* at night in his own house. After several meetings of the party the proposal is agreed to. Everybody is independent in his own place. If anybody possesses two horses and has a village in *jāgīr*, he is under no necessity of bowing to another If with the desire of plunder he comes towards Hindusthān, it is all right, otherwise nobody forces him to come. Similarly, the persons possessing a hundred or two hundred horsemen are also of the same condition. If any troops from outside come to their side, then it is necessary that they all combine. The territory that has come under their rule comprises the whole Subah of Lahore, three-fourths of Multān because the fourth part is in the hands of the Daudputras, and one-third of the Subah of Shāhjahānābād. At present they have in readiness fifty thousand troops with good horses, good guns and costly dresses, and innumerable foot-soldiers. Two years back Timur Shāh conquered the city of Multān[24] and seven hundred Sikhs were killed there together. The city of Multān and some parganahs adjoining the city are under his officers and the rest is in the hands of the Sikhs. "In whose hands is sovereignty to-day?—In the hands of God who is one and all powerful." Seventy years back this religion was born and at present several lakhs of people belong to this faith.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

24 This was in 1781 and so the *Hakikat* was written in 1783